



CATILINE

Printed for James Norris at the Kings-Arms without Temple-Bar.

Patriæ Parricida:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Horrid Conspiracy
OF
CATILINE
AGAINST
The Commonwealth
OF
ROME.

Translated out of *Salust*,
By C. C.

*Plots, true or false, are necessary things
To raise up Commonwealths, and ruine Kings.
Absolom & Achitophel.*

LONDON:
Printed by J. C. and F. C. for James Norris, at the
Kings-Arms without Temple-bar. 1683.

TO
Sir *JOHN FOWELL* Bar.
WILLIAM CARY Esq;
And *JOHN GLANVILL* Esq;
My Quondam Worthy School-fellows.

SIRS,

S Ince Books (as well as
Authors) want Pa-
trons, under whose
protection they may
pass free and undisturb'd
through the whole series of
Censure, nor be carpt at by
every pretending *Zoelus* ,
and Factious Critick; the a-
spiring *Catiline* , drest in his

English Garb, lies at your *fatuus* of his Ambition de-
 mercy for his Doom. He coy'd him. But 'tis not on-
 was once raging in his Pas-ly the fate of *Catiline*, but all,
 fions, and immoderate in his whose shallow brains enter-
 Ambition, affecting no less, tain such extravagant Chi-
 than the Sovereignty of the mæra's, and are pufft up with
 onely Empire of the World, the empty bubble of haugh-
 but that same Civil War ty Ambition; and 'tis the
 which he was the onely Au- rarest thing in nature, if e-
 thor of, turn'd at last to his ver they at last compass
 own ruine, like Envy in *Ovid* what they aim at, though to
 became his own Tormenter, the attaining but the least
 and Executioner: Or like part of it, they render them-
 that foolish Bird that stole selves the most contempti-
 Coal from the Altar, which ple of Mankind. *Catiline*,
 burnt and consum'd he who could content himself
 whole Nest. with no less Power than that

Thus we see to what Ru- of *Sylla*, yet condescended to
 ines and Precipices the *Igni* be a publick Pander to pro-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

cure Whores and Horfes for the Roman Gentlemen, whose Heads and Purfes he made ufe of, and whose Ruines he caus'd as well as his own.

The first ambitious men in the World, the old Giants, are faid to have made an heroicall attempt of scaling Heaven in fpirit of the Gods, and they caft *Ossa* on *Olympus*, and *Pelion* upon *Ossa*; two or three Mountains more they thought would make them absolute Masters of Heaven, as well as Earth; but the Thunder came and spoil'd all, when they were come

The Epistle Dedicatory.

come to the third story.

*The great Attempt was all in vain ;
They reap their labour for their pain.*

Cromwel, the great Giant of our Nation, one of their Off-spring, when from an inconsiderable Captain he made himself Lieutenant-General of a little Army of *Titans*, which was his first Mountain; afterwards General, which was his second; and then absolute Tyrant of three Kingdoms, which was his third; is really believ'd to have died of Discontent, because he could not attain the name of King, and the forma-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

formality of a Crown: But if he had compass'd that, yet still something else had been necessary to compleat his Felicity; either the Title of an Emperour, or a God.

And to this day what are the minds of many men infected with, but the same Disease? what mean else these Plots and Conspiracies (of which *Catiline* is but the Model)? and these flyings from Justice, but the cursed fruits of Ambition? What makes men of profligate Lives and lost Consciences endeavour the Death and Ruine

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Ruine of their own Monarch and the best of Princes? a Prince whom Wonders and an inscrutable Providence have preserv'd, and attended from his Cradle to his Crown; whose Grace has warm'd into life the Vipers that would have stung him, and entertain'd the croaking Vermin into his own Palace.

We might well now reflect on the Iron Age of *Ovid*,

*Filius ante Diem Patrios inquit
in annos :*

Or the days of *Sylla*, when the Sword had free sway, and acted

The Epistle Dedicatory.

acted what it pleased, and was as familiar with Entrails as the *Augurs*. And may not we as well imagine that *Catiline* or *Cethegus* is now rais'd from the dead, and like *Mahomet's* Pidgeon inspires men with the horrid principles of Bloud and Rebellion? What puts the Nation into Frights and Jealousies, what ruins Friendship and Commerce among men, and turns the whole course of Nature into Chaos and Confusion, but Ambition and its pernicious Attendants?

Thus have I made so large a digression in an Essay of
Am-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Ambition: all that I have to say is, That Gratitude and a sense of Honour for my Country-men and School-fellows, was the onely cause (in this interval of my business) why I were so ambitious to attempt so difficult a Task. The Original in Latin we learnt at School; and I know some will object, that like a School-boy I have handl'd it: but as I covet not their Smiles, so I fear not their Anger, but am much of *Martial's* humour, that only studied to please and gratifie the Nobility;

Lct

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Let Poetasters beat their Brains
To please the Vulgar, what's their
gains ?*

But my ambition was onely
to please my self, and if pos-
sible, gratifie my Friends ;
(but especially you, who are
my Holy-day Friends, and
ought to be distinguish'd
from Pretenders) : If I have
done this, my ambition is at
its height ; and 'tis but rea-
son I should study not only
to requite, but if possible,
erect so lasting a Monument,
Quod nec Fovis ira, nec ignis should
be ever able to demolish
their

The Epistle Dedicatory.

their Names, who have so
largely and generously ob-
lig'd me, and I doubt not
but will continue it.

I pass by your Vertues
and your Pedigree, and hate
to be thought guilty of the
least of flattery : for as I ac-
knowledge you my Friends,
I should be far from being
so, should I in the least en-
deavour it. If Vertue be
Nobility (as the Satyrist
observes) you have a dou-
ble Claim to it : Vertue to a
Noble Extraction adds Lu-
stre, carrying a Majesty with
it, and claiming a veneration
from every one, especially
when

The Epistle Dedicatory.

when conspicuous in such young Personages. Which that it may still flourish, as it is the Wish of all that love you, so of none more, than,

S I R S,

*Your most humble
and obliged Servant,*

C A L E B C A L L E.

THE

T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Lucius Sergius Catiline was sprung from an Illustrious Family, and endow'd with a vast strength both of Mind and Body, but of as wicked and villanous a disposition: to him, even from his youth, Civil Wars, Bloud, Rapine, and Dissentions, were ever grateful and welcome, and in them did he altogether exercise his Youth. He had a Body that could endure Hunger, Heat, and Watching, almost beyond belief: His Mind was bold, subtile, various, that could counterfeit or dissemble any thing; greedy of anothers Estate, and very prodigal of his own; raging in his Passions, and more Eloquent than Wise: His Desires

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fires were of so vast an extent, that they immoderately coveted things incredibly beyond his ability. As soon as the Go-

* A Noble Roman of the Families of the *Scipio's* : He first serv'd under *Marcius* ; afterwards aspiring to the power of a Dictator, became a great Enemy to *Marcius*, and at last his ruine. Then had he power to over-rule all *Rome*, which he did by cutting off his Foes, and enriching his friends. At last he did at *Patuli* of the Loutie Disease, (a fit death for all such aspiring Vipers,) after he had slain 10,000 men, 90 Senators, 15 of the Consular dignity, and 2000 Gentlemen. Of his Life, *vid. Plutarch*.

vernment of L. * *Sylla* had its Exit, an ex-travagant desire seiz'd him of invading the man-

agement of the Commonwealth ; neither did he ever value by what means he attain'd it, so he got the Reins of Sovereignty into his own hands. Still the wants of his Family and the guilt of his Villany more and more blow'd up the Coals of Discontent in his turbulent breast, besides the corrupt Manners of the City ; which Luxury, Avarice, and other complicated Debaucheries, never ceased to foment. Nor can I omit (the matter it self requiring it) to repeat and treat of the Acts and Institutions of our Forefathers, both in

in Peace and War ; by what means they founded the Commonwealth, in what a prosperous condition they left it, and how *Rome*, from the most flourishing and best of Cities, became the most wicked and debauched.

The *Trojans* (I have read) were the first that built and inhabited the City of *Rome* ; who like Vagabonds wander'd from place to place under one

* *Aeneas* their Commander, together with the † *Aborigenes*, a brutish kind of People,

* The Son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, who when *Troy* was taken, came into *Italy*. He began his Reign over the *Latins* (saith *Bucholtz*) about the year of the World 279. at which time *Samson* was Judge of *Israel*. *Ante urb. Cond. 427.*

† *Quasi sine Origine*, by reason of their antiquity ; *Vel Aberrigines, ex aberrando*, a wandering People, whose Offspring is not known.

without Laws, without Government, free and absolute. 'Tis almost incredible to relate how both these, of a different Offspring, different Language, and different Manners, did so easily mix and incorporate, as soon as they were settl'd in one place ; and afterwards when the num-

ber of their Citizens, the goodness of their Manners, and the extent of their Territories, had advanc'd their fortunes, their Condition seem'd very prosperous, and their power formidable.

But 'tis a general Maxime, that *the abundance of all things begets Envy*: for we find that the bordering Kings and People began to wage War against them. Some few of their Friends came to their assistance, others out of fear and cowardize shun'd all dangers; but the *Romans* were very active to encourage and exhort one another to encounter their Enemies, and with their Arms defend their *Liberty, their Country, and their Fathers*. But as soon as their Valour had dispell'd the Mist of Danger, they immediately sent Aids and Supplies to their Friends and Confederates, and *became more belov'd by giving than by receiving of Favours*; insomuch that their lawfully-acquir'd Power obtain'd at length the Royal name of Empire.

They

They had * *Delicti* Delegates, men chosen out to consult the good of the *Commonwealth*, whose bodies as age had render'd weak and infirm, so their Wisdom was the more strong and valid: To these, either in regard of their years or Office, they gave the honourable appellation of *Fathers*.

A Deligendo: No fitter term for it in English than *Deligates*.

But as soon as the City had assum'd its Liberty (so much did the desire of Glory inflame them, that) 'tis incredible to relate in how short a time, to how great an height they arriv'd.

For the Roman Youth, as soon as they were capable, learn'd in their Tents Military Discipline by labour and practice, and took greater delight in shining Armour, and warlike Horses, than in the sordid pleasures of Banquets and obscenities: And by this means it came to pass, that nothing they undertook was strange, or unusual to them; no place, though never so difficult, impassable; no

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armed

armed Enemy in the least formidable ; but a true Valour subdued and made every thing easie.

But the greatest emulation of Glory was among themselves ; for every one strove to give the first onset to the Enemy, who should first scale a Wall, or do the most noble action : this they accounted their greatest Treasure, their greatest Fame, and the most honourable Nobility. They were ever covetous of Praise, and liberal of their Mony, and affected a great deal of Glory and a competent Estate. I could tell ye in what places the Roman Valour with a small Party has conquer'd vast Armies of their Enemies, what Cities arm'd both by *Art* and *Nature*, they have besieg'd and took ; if I should not make too great a digression.

The Atchievements of the *Athenians* were indeed very great and magnificent, but somewhat less and obscure than what Fame has reported them ; but because

Athens

Athens abounded with such great and eminent Writers, their Actions were so hyperbolically celebrated, and their Valour had as great an *Entcomium*, as the best Wits of the Age could express in words.

But the *Romans* had never that *Vacation*, because every of the most prudent and sage men, were ever employ'd in the most weighty Affairs ; and no one amongst them exercis'd the Gifts of the Mind without those of the Body : the * best men knew that *Vertue*

consisted in *Action*, and were more addicted to do, than talk ; and had rather their good deeds should be commended by others, than that they themselves should be Trumpets to sound forth their own Praise. Every where, both at home and abroad, good *Manners* were their onely study : Joyn'd with the greatest *Friendship*, and the least *Self-interest*, † *Goodness*.

* *Esse quam videri bonus malibat.* sic *Æschylus*, *Οὐδὲ δούρει ἄγασσε, ἀλλὰ στρατὸν ἄγει.*

† *Vid. D. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 18.*

and Honesty more prevailed with them by the Law of Nature, than of Nations: Their Enemies were the onely Objects of their Wrath, Hatred, and Discontents; and the onely Strife among themselves was, how one Citizen should outdo another in works of Vertue; in their Devotions to the Gods they were liberal; parcimonious at home, and very true and faithful to their Friends: They maintain'd themselves and the Commonwealth by these two Arts; in War, Courage; and in Peace, Justice.

For I have known punishment to be inflicted oftener on those who contrary to command have fought against their Enemies, and though call'd home, returned but unwillingly, than on those who have basely deserted their Colours, and given way to the Enemy. But in Peace they exercis'd their Authority more by Mildness than Severity, and had rather pardon and pass by an Injury, than endeavour to revenge it. But when by
In-

Industry and Justice they had raised the Republick to its Grandeur, great (yet conquer'd) Kings, mighty Nations, and vast Multitudes, were subdued by the Roman Valour; and Carthage, that was emulously fir'd at the Glory of the Roman Empire, lay buried in its own Ruines; both Sea and Land lay open to them, and Fortune began to play mad freaks, and make a mixture of every thing: Those who had undergone all Labours and dangerous Adversities, left Riches and Idleness to be wisht for by others, and accounted them as a burden too heavy to be born.

And therefore first an immoderate desire of Riches, and then of Sovereignty, so far increased, that they became the Subject and Original of all Mischiefs: for Covetousness having subverted Faith, Honesty, and all good Arts, taught men Pride, Cruelty, Contempt of the Gods, and Bribery, and compelled the greatest part of Mankind into Falshood, to speak one thing
and

and think another, and to value Friendship not for its own sake, but for the profit that attended it; and to regard more the outward countenance of the Face, than the inward beauty of the Mind. These things at first grew by degrees to an height, at length to be pleaded for and vindicated.

Afterwards when this Contagion like a Pestilence had infected the whole City, the Empire, which before was most just and excellent, was metamorphos'd into cruel and intolerable. At first indeed *Ambition* possess'd the minds of men more than Covetousness, being the more plausible Vice, and nearer resembling Vertue: for the nature of the wise man and the ignorant are alike desirous of Glory, Honour, and Command; but the one takes just and true measures, and the other (blinded with unlearned Ignorance) by unjust and deceitful Fallacies, endeavours to attain them. Covetousness is no other than a strict search and

and a fixt desire after Riches; which no wise man was ever guilty of, because it has that poysonous quality, to render both the Mind and Body weak and effeminate: 'tis infinite and unsatiable; neither is it possible for Plenty or Want to hinder or diminish it.

But after the *Commonwealth* was retaken by *L. Sylla*, his good beginnings were attended with far otherwise events: for the Army fell immediately to Rapine and Violence; one coveted this house, and another that field: neither had they any Conscience or Modesty, but made the poor Citizens the deplorable Objects of their Cruelty and Outrage.

Hence it came to pass that *L. Sylla*, that he might the more endear the Army (he led into *Asia*) to himself, gave it a toleration for all Luxury and Debauchery: for the bewitching delicacies of the Place, and the pleasures of Peace, soon turn'd the flinty breasts of Souldiers into softness and effeminacy. There

There was the fatal place where first the Roman Army grew to an habit of *Lust* and *Intemperance* ; here they first came to admire painted Tables and imboss'd Cups, and privately and publickly to steal and plunder, rob Temples, and make no distinction at all between things sacred and prophane ; so that wherever they came and were victorious, they never left any thing for the conquer'd to enjoy.

For prosperous Events are a great clog to the Spirits of wise men, lest they too should become Slaves to their own Victory ; but when the richest men were accounted the most honourable, and that onely they were invested with Command and Authority, the edge of Valour was soon blunted, Poverty was accounted a Reproach, and Innocence a morose Ill-nature.

So that Riches were the unhappy cause that *Luxury*, *Avarice*, and *Pride*, so generally invaded the whole *Roman Youth*,

Youth, that they were given up to *Rapine* and *Prodigality* ; to be profuse of their own Estates, and yet very covetous of anothers ; to set no value either on Shame or Modesty, but to mingle divine and humane things promiscuously alike.

It was a Golden time when whole Houses and Villages, built after the forms of Cities, came to visit the Temples of the Gods, founded by our most religious Ancestors ; when they adorn'd the Temples of the Gods with *Piety* and *Devotion*, and their own houses with *Renown* and *Honour* ; when they never debarr'd the Conquered of any thing, but onely the liberty of doing Injuries.

But on the contrary, these (rather Bruits than Men) by the greatest Injustice, and the height of Villany, (as if to do Injuries was onely to make use of Authority) have stript their Companions of all those Priviledges that were left them by their most valiant Conquerors :

For

For why should I tell you things which unless seen are incredible, that many private men have levell'd Mountains, and drain'd Oceans, to whom their Riches seem'd as a Play-game, and though lawful enough in themselves, yet were wilfully abus'd to all manner of Impiety.

Neither did they rest here, but no less immoderate desire of Filthiness and Folly, and other unlawful Extravagancies, did possess them: even men chang'd the course of Nature, and acted the parts of women; and women did no less impudently prostitute their shame in publick; both Sea and Land were ransackt to afford them *Delicates to please the witty gluttony of a Meal*; and they took greater delight in Sloth and Drowsiness, than in a moderate Sleep and natural Refreshment: No longer did they undergo Hunger, Thirst, Cold, or Hardships, but made every thing subservient to their Luxury.

These things, when their Prodigality had

had brought their Estates to a low ebb, fir'd the *Roman Youth* to some rash Attempt; for a mind once polluted, or tainted with debauch principles, never wants fuel to maintain them: and therefore in every respect they gave Prodigality a greater scope, and a freer career.

Patriæ Parricida:

OR,

CATILINE's Conspiracy.

IN so great and so debauch a City, *Catiline* had every day *Cabals* of *Pensioners* for Mischief and Villany; for every *Debauchee* that had either by *Riot, Gaming, or Whoring*, consum'd his Patrimony, or had mortgag'd his Estate to procure a Pardon for some notorious Crime; besides all *Parricides, Sacrilegious*, arraign'd at the Bar, or deserv'd

serv'd and fear'd it ; besides *Thieves*, *perjur'd*, and *Murderers* ; and lastly, all those whom any *notorious Villany*, *want*, or an *evil Conscience* had made infamous, were by *Catiline* pickt up as the fittest persons for his purpose. These were his very Family and *Domesticks* ; and if any one of an honest Reputation, free from those Enormities, ever happen'd into his acquaintance, by perpetual Perswasions and insensible Allurements, he becomes a *Profelyte* as bad as the worst. But for the most part he coveted the acquaintance of young men, because their Spirits are more pliable in the bloom of their age, and consequently swallow the Bait with less difficulty ; therefore he adapted a particular Temptation to every particular Constitution : To some he would become a Pander, for others he would procure Dogs and Horses ; and without regard either to Modesty or Expence, he would never refuse the most vile and abject services, so he could but bring

bring them over to his humour, and make them true to his interest.

For *Catiline*, when but a Youth, committed several notorious Rapes, first on a noble Virgin, then on a Vestal Nun, and was guilty of many such egregious incestuous Extravagancies, contrary to all Law and Nature. At last he fell in love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, in whom no good man found any thing commendable but her Beauty ; and because she doubted to marry him, fearing her Son-in-law, then in age, 'tis really believed he poyson'd his onely Son, to make way for their unlawful Marriage ; which thing in my opinion was the chiefeft cause why *Catiline* so soon endeavour'd to ripen his Conspiracy : For a mind polluted with Impiety, is hateful both to Gods and men, and can never be sedate nor compos'd with sleep nor watchings. Thus did self-guilt weary and waste his intraged, turbulent breast : from thence proceeded that languid bloudless colour in

his face, staring eyes, his pace confus'd,
now quick and then slow ; and the un-
easie discontent, and War within him,
discover'd it self too apparent in his
looks and gestures.

But he not onely betray'd a great part
of the *Roman Youth*, but he taught them
divers *Formula's* and *Methods* in the
commission of notorious Villanies. Out
of them he furnished himself with false
Evidences and counterfeit Seals, inso-
much that they Set all their Credit, For-
tunes, and Dangers at a very despicable
value.

But after he had made shipwrack of
their Reputations, he soon commanded
things of far greater consequence : for
if but a small cause or opportunity for
Mischiefe did occur, lest their hands should
grow dull for want of use, yet their
minds should be gratuitously mischievous
to circumvent and ruine the Innocent as
well as guilty.

Catiline reposing so great a trust and
confi-

confidence in these his Friends and Allies,
(considering that there was no Country
but to which he and they were deeply
indebted, and that *Sylla's* Souldiers were
in want, who reflecting on their former
Victories, wisht once more an opportu-
nity for a Civil War) began to consult
by what means he might best curb the
Commonwealth, and take the Govern-
ment into his own hands. In *Italy* there

was no Standing-
Army, and * *Cn.*

Pompeius was wa-
ging War in the
utmost confines of
the *Roman Empire*,

that he himself stood very fair for the
Consulate, and the *Senate* nothing at all
cautious and suspectful, but every thing
mov'd in a safe and undisturbed Sphere ;
all which wonderfully favour'd his de-
signe. And to that
purpose, about the

† *Calends* of *June*

* Father-in-law to *Julius Caesar*,
for his valour surnamed *Magnus*.
He was of such an Heroick Spi-
rit, that he could not admit of
an Equal ; and *Caesar* so stout,
that he could not endure a Su-
perior : whence arose the Ci-
vil Wars in *Rome*.

† Which was about the begin-
ning of *June* for the *Calends*
were the first day of every
month. *Vid. Godw. Antiq. Rom.*

he first began to discover it apart, to persuade some, and allure others, and promise all, that the Aids and Forces he should have (considering the *Commonwealth* was careless and unprovided) would make the rewards of the Conspiracy great and answerable. When he had discovered what he thought convenient, he summon'd all those, the greatness of whose wants afforded them the greatest stock of Resolution and Boldness.

Thither came of the Senatorian Order, *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Cassius*, *C. Cethegus*, the two *Sylla's*, *P.* and *Serv. L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Lecca*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*.

Of the Equestrian Order (or Knights) came *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Stantius*, *P. Gabinus Capito*, *C. Cornelius*, besides many nobly descended out of the Colonies, and free Towns. Many more Noblemen were made more privately acquainted with it; whom the desire and hopes

hopes of Command, more than Want or Necessity, persuaded to be Traytors. The rest that favour'd the Designe were for the most part of the *Roman Nobility*, who desir'd to live in ease either splendidly, or effeminately; preferring
* *Chimæra's* before Realities, and the dubious events of War, before the certain tranquillity of a settled Peace.

* *Sic in bello Jugurthino. Quamquam opibus suis consideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare. Item Plautus, in Pseud. Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus. Etc Hesiodus, Νῆπιός, ὅς τῃ ἱππῶν ἀντιμα δῖοντι.*

At that time there were some that thought that *M. Licinius Crassus* was not altogether ignorant of the Association, because he bore an inveterate hatred to *Cn. Pompeius*, who was then General of a great Army, and was very willing to raise any Forces whatsoever to curb his growing Greatness, hoping that if the Plot had took effect, to make himself Commander in his stead.

When they were all met, *Catiline*, though he had discovered several things

before apart, yet thought that in this matter 'twas expedient to convene all, to give them a sufficient satisfaction of the goodness and justice of his *Cause*; took them apart into a private Room, and thus bespoke them.

' In vain were all opportunities of
' time and place, and pregnant hopes of
' Dominion and Sovereignty, if either
' your Valour or Integrity were in the
' least to be suspected; neither would I
' through ignorance or a capricious hu-
' mour, leave a substance to embrace a
' shadow, or refuse solid certainties to
' grasp empty hopes, or Clouds of Air:
' but since in many and prodigious diffi-
' culties I have had sufficient experience
' of your Courage and Honesty, my
' mind prompts me on to undertake the
' greatest and the most honourable En-
' terprize imaginable: for I know what
' things will turn to the profit and disad-
' vantage of us all; and for you to *Will*
' and *Nil* the same with me, is the very
' height

' height and complement of Friendship.
' What I now designe, you have been
' severally acquainted with, how glorious
' and honourable our Undertaking is;
' but my Spirit is more inflam'd, when I
' reflect how miserable the residue of our
' lives will be, unless by some noble At-
' tempt on the publick *Liberty* we endea-
' vour to evade it.

' For as soon as the *Commonwealth* was
' delivered to a few rich and powerful
' men, mighty Kings and Tetrarchs be-
' came their Tributaries, vast Multitudes
' and whole Nations became their Vas-
' sals, and paid them Stipends; and we
' that are truly valiant, honest, and no-
' bly born, have been rank'd with the ig-
' noble Vulgar, and been basely subject
' to their humours, without any Autho-
' rity, or the least mark of Greatness, to
' whom (were things justly manag'd) we
' should appear great and formidable:
' for we see that all Command, Honour,
' and Riches, are absolutely possess'd and

' dispos'd of by them, when onely Dan-
 ' gers, Disgrace, and Poverty are all our
 ' fortunes ; which how long (O invin-
 ' cible Spirits) will ye undergo ! Is it not
 ' much more honourable to die in the
 ' Bed of Honour in a Righteous Cause,
 ' than lose a miserable and a fordid life
 ' in the base service of a Great man's
 ' Pride ? But now (O the faith of Gods
 ' and men !) Victory smiles, and seems
 ' ready to put her triumphant Palm into
 ' our hands ; and what should hinder ?
 ' Is not the power in our hands ? our
 ' Age in its full strength and vigour ?
 ' and our Courage equal to our Age ?
 ' and every thing as it were conspires to
 ' make us absolutely happy ? When on
 ' the contrary, to them, Age, Riches, and
 ' Security, render every thing old and
 ' tedious. *Nothing now remains but the*
 ' *Attempt it self.* Other things the ju-
 ' stice of our Cause and the necessity of
 ' our Action will consequently dispatch :
 ' for what one of us, that hath the true

' *Roman*

' *Roman* bloud flowing within him, can
 ' endure that such men should have so
 ' great an affluence of Riches, even whole
 ' worlds of Treasure, which they pro-
 ' futely waste in Riots and Excess, in
 ' levelling Mountains, and draining Seas ;
 ' when we, who are far more meritori-
 ' ous and deserving, cannot supply the
 ' necessitous wants of our selves and Fa-
 ' milies : they are happy in the number
 ' of their Palaces, and we miserable in
 ' the want of a small House, or a settl'd
 ' Habitation. They can purchase rich
 ' Attick Tables, carv'd Images, and em-
 ' boss'd Cups ; pull down this new Stru-
 ' cture, and raise another, and endeavour
 ' by all means imaginable to consume and
 ' even torment their Treasures, which are
 ' as boundless as their Passions ; while
 ' we labour under the intolerable burden
 ' of Wants at home, Debts abroad, in a
 ' deplorable condition, and much more
 ' deplorable hopes : and therefore what
 ' should hinder an immediate Insurrecti-

' on ?

‘ on ? Lo, *Liberty, Liberty !* the God-
 ‘ des whom you oft have courted, now
 ‘ courts you, attended with that inesti-
 ‘ mable Dowry of Riches, Honour, and
 ‘ Renown. *Fortune* has design’d these
 ‘ Rewards onely for Conquerours ; and
 ‘ now the Cause, Opportunity, Danger,
 ‘ Want, and all the splendid Spoils of
 ‘ glorious War, should have a greater
 ‘ influence upon *your* Spirits, than an ex-
 ‘ cellent Oration, though deckt with the
 ‘ choicest Flowers of pleasing Rhetorick.
 ‘ Either use me as a Commander, or a
 ‘ Souldier ; both my Presence and my
 ‘ Courage shall ever attend you. These
 ‘ things when I am *Consul*, with your ad-
 ‘ vice and help, I hope to effect, unless
 ‘ perchance my Trust fail me, and you
 ‘ more inclin’d to live slavishly, than com-
 ‘ mand victoriously.

Soon as the Conspirators had heard
 this, though they had neither money nor
 probable hopes of carrying it on, yet
 they thought they should reap sufficient
 satis-

satisfaction in disturbing the Peace of the
Commonwealth ; and to that end they re-
 quir’d him to propose in what nature or
 condition the War should be, what Re-
 wards, what hopes of Aid did seem to
 favour it. *Catiline* immediately promis’d
 them new Laws, the
 * Proscription or Se-
 questration of the
 rich mens Estates,
 their Magistracies,
Church-lands, Plunder, and every thing
 which the will of the Conquerour should
 lay claim to.

* They were properly said to be
 proscrib’d, whose Names were
 very fairly written and set up in
 the *Agora* (or Exchange) to give
 notice that for some Misdemean-
 our their Goods were to be
 sold, and the Malefactors banish’d.

Besides this, *Piso* was with an Army in
 the yonder *Spain*, and *P. Sittius Nuceri-
 nus* in *Mauritania* with another ; both his
 Friends, and both Partners in the Conspi-
 racy: that *C. Antonius*, his familiar Acquain-
 tance, a man every where surrounded
 with wants and necessities, endeavour’d
 the *Consulship*, whom he hop’d should be
 his Collegue ; and as soon as he had ac-
 quir’d that, he would begin the Attempt.

Soon

Soon as he had spoke this, he fell a railing on all the *Loyal Party* with opprobrious Language, and dire Imprecations; then naming every one of his own, began to praise them for the nobleness of the Undertaking; to one he objected his Poverty, to another his Ambition; many he advis'd of the danger and disgrace they should continue in without it: but mostly he insisted on the Victory of *Sylla*, and the rich Spoils and Plunder that attended it. At length, when he perceived the joy of their hearts appear in their looks, desiring them to consider what he had recommended to them, he dismiss'd the *Conventicle*.

At that time there were some that reported that *Catiline*, after he had made an Eloquent Oration to allure the Instruments of his Mischief to an Oath of Secrecy, gave each one a Cup of Wine

* *Hac de re Florus sic scribit. Additum est pignus Conjuratōnis Sanguinis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere. Summum Nefas, nisi amplius esset, propter quod biberunt.*

mixt with * *Human Blood*; which when (with an

an Execration, as is usual in solemn Sacrifices) they had drunk off, he discover'd every Circumstance of his helish Intrigue. And this they report he did, that, seeing they were scared with the horridness of the Plot, they might be the more faithful one to another, and keep the Designe more secure from discovery.

In this *Association* there was one *Q. Curius* of a Noble Family, but involv'd in all debauch and villanous practices, whom the *Censors* banisht the Senate for his scandalous deportment. This man as he was bold and daring, so he was very foppish and idle; he could neither be secret in things imparted to him, nor cease to be the Divulger of his own Debaucheries, making no distinction at all between what he did or said.

Betwixt him and *Fulvia*, a Lady nobly descended, was contracted a very intimate and immodest Familiarity; to whom when Poverty had render'd him less

less acceptable, he immediately boasted of and promis'd Golden Mountains; and I know not what impossibilities; sometimes threatening her with death if she did not incline to his lawless humour; at length came to be more boldly rude than usual.

But *Fulvia* so prudently manag'd him, that by degrees she got out of him the Cause of his insolence, and thought that a matter of that dangerous consequence to the *Commonwealth*, ought not to be longer kept private; insomuch that many whom she made acquainted with it, were very desirous to intrust the management of the *Commonwealth* to *M. Tullius Cicero*, whom before most of the Nobility env'y'd, and thought it a degradation to the *Consular dignity*, that so great an honour should be conferr'd on such a new Upstart person, though of extraordinary Parts and Abilities; but when dangers made things look with so ill an aspect, that Envy and Pride suddenly vanish and gave place to Safety. There-

Therefore in the next *Senate*, *M. Tullius Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were declared

* *Consuls*; which at first struck the *Conspirators* with a *Panick* fear: Neither

* *Sic dicti, à Consulendo Populo*: No Citizen could be made *Consul*, till the forty third year of his age.

was the rage and madness of *Catiline* any whit abated, but urg'd him to greater and more fatal Resolutions.

For now he began to fortifie several of the most convenient and chiefeft places in *Italy*, and sent Money to *Manlius* at *Fesula*, which he had borrow'd both on his own and the account of his Friends. This *Manlius* became afterwards the Head of the Rebellion.

He betray'd likewise a vast number of all sorts and conditions, besides some women who had got vast Estates by the prostitution of their bodies. Even these *Catiline* design'd to be instrumental to his *Association*, who by Courtship and other verbal Services, should engage their Husbands to his interest, and if not, to kill them. Amongst

Amongst these was the Lady *Sempronia*, a true *Virago*, who commonly committed many notorious Mischiefs with a masculine impudence. This woman was very nobly descended, and of an excellent beauty, very happy in a Noble Husband and lovely Children, learn'd in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, could sing

* *Semproniam hic reprehendit Salustius, non quod saltare, sed quod optime scierit, quod ut vitium Notavit Æmilius Probus in Epaminondæ vita.*

and dance more
* ingeniously than
an honest woman
ought to do, and

had several more qualifications subservient to her wanton Luxury: she accounted any thing at an equal value with Vertue and Modesty; and it would be very difficult to discern whether she was more prodigal of her Money or her Reputation; being so naturally lascivious, that rather than not be courted, she would court others.

But this woman had before this made shipwrack of her Fame and Credit, was perjur'd, guilty of Murder, and involv'd
in

in all manner of Luxury and Necessity.

But her Wit and Parts were not in the least despicable; she could compose Rhymes and Sonets, was very jocular in all Society, and could talk either modestly, moderately, or lasciviously, and had indeed a great deal of *Complaisance* and Gentility in her Conversation.

These things done, and the Plot so far laid, *Catiline* the ensuing year endeavoured no less vigorously for the *Consulate* than before, hoping that if he was chosen, he should manage *C. Antonius*, and cast him in what mould he pleas'd.

Neither was he now quiet, but sought by all means possible to intrap *Cicero*, who was no less sedulously cautious to prevent him: for from the beginning of his *Consulate* he so manag'd *Fulvia*, that she promis'd to induce *Q. Curius* to discover the whole Association. Moreover, he sent away *C. Antonius* his Colleague to the Government of a *Province*, suspecting lest he also should have some
D private

private grudges against the Commonwealth; and had continually a private party of his Friends and Clients about him for the safeguard of his person.

But when the *Council-day* came, and *Catiline* saw that none of his *Designes* and *Stratagems* against the *Consul* took effect, resolv'd immediately to take Arms and absolutely try the utmost event of all things, since all his *Contrivances* met with a far different Event than he expected.

Upon this he dispatched away *Manlius* to *Fesulae*, and other parts of *Etruria*; *Septimius* to the Territories of *Picenum*; and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; some one way, and some another, as he thought convenient.

In the mean time he himself was not idle at *Rome*, but still plotted the ruine of the *Consul*, to prepare fit Instruments and Materials for firing the City, and to beset strong and convenient places with armed men, to be himself armed, to com-

command and exhort others to be prepared and in readiness for what they were to execute, to be active and vigilant both by night and day, and let no labour nor hardship in the least weary nor discompose them.

But at last, when he saw nothing take effect, at an unseasonable time of night he summon'd the Chief of the Conspiracy by *M. Porcius Lecca*, complaining of their sloath and tardiness in so weighty an Affair. He gave them to understand, that he had sent *Manlius* before to those Forces which he had order'd to be in Arms, and others into other opportune places, to commence the War; and that he himself desir'd to hasten to the Army, if by any means possible he could first kill *Cicero*, because he was the chiefest hindrance and countermine to all his undertakings.

At this they were all startl'd, and very dubious what the Event might be. At length *C. Cornelius* a Roman Knight,

and *L. Vargunteius* a Senator, resolv'd that very night or the next morning to take a few armed men, and go by way of visit to salute *Cicero*, and so surprizingly to kill him at his own house.

But when *Q. Quirius* understood how great and imminent a danger threaten'd the *Consul*, he immediately made *Fulvia* the happy Instrument of its discovery, inſomuch that when they came to the door, they were deny'd entrance ; and for ſo great and noble an Exploit, had onely their labour for their pains.

In the mean time *Manlius* rais'd the *Rabble* in *Etruria*, who were very deſirous of Reformation, becauſe their preſent Wants and Grievances brought to their remembrance, that in the *Uſurpation* of *Sylla* their Eſtates were ſequeſtered, and their Goods conſiſcated.

Befides theſe, there were a great number of *Banditi* or Robbers (of which that Country abounded) and ſome of *Sylla's* old Souldiers ; though they had ſuch

rich

rich Plunder and large Spoils, yet their Luſt and Luxury left them nothing to enjoy.

When *Cicero* underſtood this, a dubious fear preſently poſſeſs'd him, leſt the City could no longer be defended from their Treachery by a private Council. Neither was he ſufficiently ſatisfi'd how ſtrong the Army of *Manlius* was, nor what it immediately design'd to do, but makes the Senate acquainted with the whole matter, which was heighten'd and aggravated before by the Rumours of the common people.

Upon this, the Senate immediately decreed (as is uſual in matters of great conſequence) that it ſhould be the care of the *Conſuls*, what in them lay, to endeavour the Security of the Commonwealth, and gave Commiſſions to the Magiſtracy to raiſe an Army, wage War, to engage Friends and Citizens, and to exerciſe full power and authority both abroad and at home.

D 3

Not

Not long after, *L. Senius* (or *Servius*) read some Letters in the *Senate*, which he reported to come from *Fasula* ; the Contents of which were, That *Manlius* was in the Field with a great Army, the 5th of the Calends of *November* : Some related several ominous Portents and Prodigious ; others, that there were several private Cabals and Consults, how to send Arms to *Capua*, and raise a servile War in *Apulia*. Therefore the *Senate* decreed that *Q. M. Rex*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, should be sent, the one into *Fasula*, and the other into *Apulia*, and the neighbouring places.

* *Quod præirent Populo* : That judg'd matters within the City, and had usually places of Command in the Army ; the number at last came to sixteen.

one into *Capua*, and the other to the Territories of *Picenum*, with orders to raise such an Army as the time and danger did require.

Moreover, the *Senate* decreed that large

large Rewards should be given to any one that would make any discovery of the Conspiracy, (viz.) To a Servant Freedom, and an hundred *Sesterces* ; to a freed man a Paragon, and two hundred : They decreed likewise, that the Companies of the *Gladiators* should be drawn out and sent into *Capua*, and other municipal places, as there should be occasion ; and that continual Guards and Watches should be set over the whole City, and some inferiour Magistrate should command them.

* *Libertus* : He or she that had serv'd as an Apprentice, and was afterwards manumis'd, was call'd *Libertus*, or *Liberta*.

Upon this the whole City was in a Consternation, and every thing lookt with a far different Aspect than before ; for instead of their excessive Mirth and Wantonness, (the effects of Idleness) Sorrow and Grief invaded every one ; Terrour and Panick Fear so disorder'd them, that they would neither trust to the safety of any place, nor the honesty

of any man ; they were so confus'd that they were unfit to make War, or live in Peace, measuring the greatness of their Danger by the greatness of their Fear.

Moreover, the tender women, whom the unaccustomed fear of War had affrighted, had regard to the greatness and glory of the *Commonwealth*, neither ceas'd they from being the Afflictors and Tormentors of their own breasts, and with up-lift hands to Heaven implor'd its mercy on their poor Children. Often would they ask confused Questions, and tremble at every shadow. Pride and Delicacy were now no more, since they distrust'd their own Country, and themselves too.

But the cruel and enraged breast of *Catiline* still persisted in the carrying on of his Villanies, notwithstanding such strong Watches were set every where. To dissemble his Hypocrisie, and excuse himself as if justly provok'd, he came in to the Senate : Then *M. Tullius Cicero*, either

either startl'd with fear at his presence, or mov'd with indignation, made a very eloquent and profitable Oration for the *Commonwealth*. When he had done, *Catiline*, who had the gift of Dissimulation, with a demure look, and a low voice, requested the Fathers not to give a rash credit to every idle Report, but should consider, that as he was descended of a Noble Family, so he ever fram'd his life from his Youth up, that he had a prospect of every thing good and honourable ; that they should reflect he was one of their own Order, a *Patrician*, whose Ancestors had well and nobly deserv'd for their many Favours and Kindnesses to the *Roman Commonalty* ; that there would be no need of conspiring the Ruine of the *Commonwealth*, so long as *M. T. Cicero*, an Inmate, private Citizen of *Rome*, sat at its Helm for its preservation.

Soon as he had spoken these and other opprobrious words against the Consul,

ful, they were all startl'd, and began to brand him with the dishonourable terms of Enemy, Monster, and Parricide: He, with a furious and raging transport answered, *Since I am thus circumvented by my Enemies, the Fire that I have kindled shall be quenched by their Ruine.* With that he went hastily out of the *Senate* to his own house, and there ruminated on many things to himself, that since all his Snares for the *Consul* prov'd ineffectual, and that the City was so well secur'd, that there was no possibility left of firing it, he thought best to increase the number of his Army, and before the Legion should be muster'd, to take several things with him that might be serviceable to him in the War: so late at night he departed the City, and set forward to the Camp of *Manlius*; but gave orders before to *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* (in whose boldness and resolution he had the greatest confidence) that they should what in them lay, strengthen the Faction, hasten

then to dispatch the *Consul*, and get ready the Instruments of Ruine, and Fire, and other Engines of War, and that he himself within a few days would meet them with his Ensigns at the City-walls.

In the mean time *Manlius* sends a Messenger to *Q. Martins Rex*, with such a Message as this:

We call the Gods and men to witness, O General, that we took Arms not to the ruine of our Country, nor to the hazard and detriment of any other; but onely for our own security, that we being made miserable and indigent by the Cruelty and Exaction of our *Usurers*, are out of all hopes of our Country, Fame, and Fortune: for their and the *Prætors* boundless Extortion has been such, that we are not allow'd (as our Forefathers were) the use and priviledges of our own Laws; and since the loss of our Patrimonies, have not had the liberty of our bodies. Many times have our Ancestors in compassion to the *Roman Commons*,
supplid

supply'd their necessities, and very lately, within our own memories, the greatness of their Debts being such, that by the consent of all good men, Brass has pass'd currant instead of Silver.

For the common People being fir'd with the desire of Command, and justly provok'd by the pride and injustice of their Magistrates, have oftentimes degenerated from the virtues of their Fathers, and shook off the heavy Yoak of the *Roman Senate*.

But for us, we neither desire Command nor Riches, (the unhappy Original of all the Jars and Discontents of mankind) but onely *Liberty*, which no good man will ever part with, without life. We conjure you and the whole *Senate*, to consult the Quiet and Welfare of the miserable Citizens, and restore them the safeguard and defence of those Laws which the Injustice and Avarice of the *Prætors* have taken from them; for we would not have it said, that you should

impose

impose on us the necessity of requiring by what means and methods we should fall in the Revenge of our own Bloud.

To which *Marcins* returned answer, That if they intended to have any favour of the *Senate*, they should quit their Arms, and return submissively to *Rome*: that the *Senate* and *Roman People* were ever of that Generosity and Clemency, that no Petition of Redress of Grievances was ever in vain, or ineffectual.

But *Catiline* as he was on his Journey, sent Letters to many of the Chief of the *Senate*, intimating that he was falsely accus'd of Crimes he knew not; and because he could not withstand the faction and malice of his Enemies, he thought better to submit to Fortune: that he was gone an *innocent man* to Exile into *Massilia*, not because he was guilty of what was laid to his charge, but onely for the quiet of the *Commonwealth*, whose Peace he more studied than any seditious Contention, or the vindication of his

his

his own Innocence. Several Letters of this purport *Catulus* read in the *Senate*, delivered to him in the name of *Catiline*; of which, this was one.

L. *Catiline* to Q. *Catulus*, health.

YOur extraordinary love and favour that were ever grateful to me in my greatest dangers, hath given me the boldness for this Commendation; wherefore I thought fit not to speak any thing in my own defence in a new *Senate*, nor to propose any satisfaction out of any self-guilt of what I am accused: which (I take Heaven to witness) that you may know the truth, being so much provokt by the continual Injuries and Affronts put upon me, being depriv'd of the Fruit and Profit of all my Industry, and not obtaining the state of Dignity I stood Candidate for, I undertook (as I am wont) the Cause of the Afflicted; not but that I could make sufficient satisfaction

tisfaction for all the Debts contracted on my account out of my own Estate, and the Generosity of *Aurelia Orestilla* can satisfy the rest out of her own and her Daughters Revenues: but because I saw men worthy of all Honour not prefer'd, and my self alienated from the affections of the *Senate* by a false suspicion, on this account I prosecuted very honourable hopes of preserving the residue of the Dignity for my own sake. I would write more, but news is brought me that the *Senate* prepares for Arms: wherefore I commend *Orestilla* to your care and protection; defend her from all Injuries, since it is the request of us both. Farewel.

But he himself staid a few days with *Flaminius* at *Rheatium*, to supply that City with Arms; then with the * *Fasces*, and other Imperial Ensignes went to the Camp to *Manlius*.
Soon

* Bundles of Rods carri'd as a mark of Honour and Justice before the *Consul*, and other great and eminent Officers.

Soon as these things were known at Rome, the Senate immediately proclaim'd *Catiline* and *Manlius* Enemies to the Republick, and appointed a day for the rest of the Conspirators, and those that were already condemn'd for capital Crimes, before they could possibly quit their Arms; decreeing likewise that the *Consuls* should have a *Dilectum*, and that *Antonius* should hasten to follow *Catiline* with his Army, and *Cicero* be left for the safeguard of the City.

At that time the Roman Empire seemed to be in a very low ebb of Fortune; though all their Conquests from the East to the West were at their beck, at home Pleasures and Riches (the *summum bonum* of some men) flow'd in with a Spring-tyde, yet there were some factious Citizens of that perverse and obstinate Spirit, who then endeavour'd what in them lay the Ruine of the Commonwealth and themselves too, for the lucre of the Reward promis'd by the two
Decre-

Decretals of the Senate, had not that influence on one of so great a Multitude as to prompt him to discover the least particle of the Conspiracy: neither did one of *Catiline's* Souldiers prove a *Renegado*, so much did the *Witchcraft* of Rebellion possess the minds of most of the Citizens: Neither was it the opinion onely of those concern'd in the Association, but the greatest part of the common people were so in love with Reformation, that they favour'd and approv'd of his Undertakings, or at least seem'd so.

For always in a great City all good and loyal persons become the Envy of the poor and factious: whereas on the contrary, wicked Incendiaries are most extoll'd; who hating Antiquities, were in love with Novelties, willing to exchange present Realities for future Uncertainties; being bred and foster'd onely by Noise and Sedition, without any care or foresight.

For Poverty is easily obtain'd without
[d] loss,

loss, but the common Citizens urged themselves headlong to their own ruine, especially those who excelled others in Cheats and Cozenage ; secondly, those whose loss of Patrimony was attended with disgrace and necessity ; and lastly, those whom any wicked and nefarious Villany had banisht *Rome* : These at that time fled to the City as to a Brother ; and many calling to remembrance the Usurpation of *Sylla*, that they saw some from common Souldiers become Senators ; others so opulent, that they liv'd rather like Princes than common Subjects ; every one hop'd that if Victory attended their Swords, the same or a better fortune : Besides, the Country Youth, who earn'd their Bread in the fields by the sweat of their brows, being fir'd with their profuse prodigality both in private and *publick*, preferr'd the idle life and pleasures of the City before the ungrateful toyl and labour of the Country.

Not

Not onely these, but all, were infected with the same disease ; by which it is the less to be admir'd that indigent persons, indued with ill principles, having such hopes, consulted not so much the good of the *Republick*, as their own interests : besides, those whose Parents were banisht, and had their Estates *sequestred*, and their Rights and Priviledges lessen'd by the *Usurpation* of *Sylla*, expected the Event of this War to be little different from that. Moreover, those who were of a different Opinion and Party from that of the *Roman* Senate, had rather the Commonwealth should be disturb'd, than they themselves be the less quiet. Thus the old Mischief, after the revolution of some years, return'd to infect the City once again.

For when the Power of the * *Tribunes* was restor'd (in the Consulate

* Of which there were two sorts, *Tribuni militum*, who had onely authority in matters military ; and *Tribuni Plebis*, Protectors of the People, *Anglicè*, Sheriffs.

of *Cn. Pompeius*, and *M. Crassus*) the

[d 2]

Roman

Roman Youth, having attain'd the height of Power, their Age and Spirits being alike fierce and untam'd, began to irritate the *Rabble* by criminating the Actions of the *Senate*; and by degrees incensing them more and more by Bribes and Promises, made themselves very popularly famous. On the contrary, most of the Nobility of the *Senate*, for the honour of the *Commonwealth*, and their own *Grandeur*, endeavour'd what in them lay to oppose them.

But after that *Cn. Pompeius* was sent to the *Maritime* and *Mithridatick* Wars, the Riches of the common People were diminish'd, and the Empire fell into the hands of a few. These men had all *Magistracies*, *Provinces*, and every thing else in their own possession, and were altogether absolute and uncontroulable, leading their lives without any fear or danger, and aw'd all others by the terror of their Laws to reduce the *Commonalty* into a better Obedience: but

the

the first opportunity that offer'd any hopes, blew up the Coals of Dissention afresh within them. But to return.

If *Catiline* had departed *Rome* at first, with an Army equal to the *Commonwealth*, a mighty Slaughter and Calamity had inevitably befallen it; neither would those who had been victorious have been long able to retain their Conquest, but he that had the stronger Party would obtain the Empire from the more weak and infirm.

Besides those that were now concern'd in the Conspiracy, there were some who sided with *Catiline* before; among these was one *Fulvius* the Son of a Senator, whom being taken in his Journey, his Father commanded to be slain. At that time at *Rome* was also *Lentulus*, who by the instigation of *Catiline* seduced (either by himself or others) all, whose Manners and Fortunes he thought render'd them desirous of *Reformation*;

not

not onely Citizens, but all sort of People that might aid a War.

To that purpose he employs one *Umbrenus* to sollicite to Embassadors of the * *Allobroges*, and

* A very fierce and Warlike People that inhabited some part of *Gallia*, and were tributaries to the *Roman Empire*. Now Inhabitants of *Dauphiny* and *Savoie*.

decoy them, if possible, into the horrid *Association*, supposing (as indeed they were) that they were deeply taxed both abroad and at home. More-

† *Justinus ex Trogo.* Non reges Orientis sine Mercenario Gallorum Exercitu, ulla bella Gesserunt, tantus terror Gallici Nominis, sine armorum, invicta felicitas erat, ut alter neque Majestatem suam tutam, neque amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur.

over he knew the † *Gauls* were naturally a fierce and warlike People, and might easily be brought over to such a Designe. This *Umbrenus* was known to, and well acquainted with the Chiefs and Magistrates of all their Cities, because he had for some time been employed in *Gallia* by the *Roman Senate*; and therefore

fore he took an opportunity when he saw the Embassadors in the * *Forum*, asking them a few Questions concerning the state

* *Forum* has several significations; but I suppose this to be the place where Orations were made to the People, and where Controversies in Law were judicially determin'd.

and condition of their City, and as it were condoling their Misfortunes, he began to inquire of them what end they hop'd to expect of all their Miseries; but when he heard them complain of the covetousness of their Magistrates, that they accus'd the *Roman Senate* because they afforded them no Redress, and that they expected nothing but Death to be their Remedy; But I (said he) provided you will shew your selves men, can put you into a method how you may easily avoid these Extremities.

When he had said this, the *Allobroges*, big with expectation, entreated

Umb-

Umbrenus to commiserate their Condition, and promis'd that there was nothing so hard and difficult, but they would to the utmost of their power endeavour to accomplish, if by any means possible he could deliver their Cities from the rigour of their Taxes.

Presently he leads them into the house of *Decius Brutus*, because 'twas near the *Forum*, and was their general Rendezvous, for the sake of his Wife *Sempronia* ; (for *Brutus* was at the time absent from *Rome* :) to his aid he calls *Gabinus*, who was endued with the better Art of Persuasion ; in his presence he opens the whole Plot, and to induce them the more, discovers the Confederates and the rest that were concern'd therein : and when they had consented, and promis'd what Aid they could afford, they were dismiss'd.

But

But the *Allobroges* were long in suspense what Course to steer ; on the one side, were their Debts and Exactions, desire of War, and a prospect of the vast Rewards of Victory ; on the other, greater Riches and Aids, safe Counsel, and instead of uncertain Hopes, certain Rewards. Consulting these things, at length Fortune favour'd the *Commonwealth* ; upon this they discover'd what they knew to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, (under whose Patronage their City then was) *Cicero* being acquainted with it by *Sanga*, order'd the Embassadors still seemingly to favour the Conspiracy, accordingly to meet them, promise them well, and do their Endeavour to make themselves acquainted with as much as possible. About the same time were there Insurrections in both *Gallia's*, in the Territories of *Picenum*, and at *Brutium* in *Apulia* ; for those whom *Catiline* had sent away before, rashly and inconsiderately manag'd every thing, according to their own Will, and caus'd more Fear than Danger by their

Umbrenus to commiserate their Condition, and promis'd that there was no ~~thing~~ so hard and difficult, but that

IRREQUITUR

Presently he leads them into the house of *Decius Brutus*, because 'twas near the *Forum*, and was their general Rendezvous, for the sake of his Wife *Sempronia*; (for *Brutus* was at that time absent from *Rome* :) to his aid he calls *Gabinus*, who was endued with the better Art of Perswasion; in his presence he opens the whole Plot, and to induce them the more, discovers the Confederates and the rest that were concern'd therein: and when they had consented, and promis'd what Aid they could afford, they were dismiss'd.

But

But the *Allobroges* were long in suspense what Course to steer; on the one side were their Debts and Exactions, de-

wards. Consulting their Fortune favour'd the Commonwealth; upon this they discover'd what they knew to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, (under whose Patronage their City then was) *Cicero* being acquainted with it by *Sanga*, order'd the Embassadors still seemingly to favour the Conspiracy, accordingly to meet them, promise them well, and do their Endeavour to make themselves acquainted with as much as possible. About the same time were there Insurrections in both *Gallia's*, in the Territories of *Picenum*, and at *Brutium* in *Apulia*; for those whom *Catiline* had sent away before, rashly and inconsiderately manag'd every thing, according to their own Will, and caus'd more Fear than Danger by

Umbrenus to commiserate their Condition, and promis'd that there was nothing so hard and difficult, but they would to the utmost of their power endeavour to accomplish, if by any means possible he could deliver their Cities from the rigour of their Taxes.

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But

But the *Allobroges* were long in suspense what Course to steer ; on the one side, were their Debts and Exactions, desire of War, and a prospect of the vast Rewards of Victory ; on the other, greater Riches and Aids, safe Counsel, and instead of uncertain Hopes, certain Rewards. Consulting these things, at length Fortune favour'd the *Commonwealth* ; upon this they discover'd what they knew to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, (under whose Patronage their City then was) *Cicero* being acquainted with it by *Sanga*, order'd the Embassadors still seemingly to favour the Conspiracy, accordingly to meet them, promise them well, and do their Endeavour to make themselves acquainted with as much as possible. About the same time were there Insurrections in both *Gallia's*, in the Territories of *Picenum*, and at *Brutium* in *Apulia* ; for those whom *Catiline* had sent away before, rashly and inconsiderately manag'd every thing, according to their own Will, and caus'd more Fear than Danger by their

their nightly Cabal, Conveyance of Armour and Darts, by their urging and hastening every thing; of which number *Quintus Metellus Celer* (being made acquainted with it by the Senate) put many into Chains and Irons; the like did *C. Murena* in yonder *Gallia*, who was Lieutenant of that Province.

But at Rome, *Lentulus*, with the rest of the Chief of the Conspiracy that were ready with their Forces, so design'd it, that as soon as *Catiline* was come into *Fafulæ* with his Army, *L. Bestia*, the Tribune of the People, should in a select Oration lay the blame of the whole Proceeding upon *Cicero*, and lay the Envy of the most unheard of Wars upon the best of *Consuls*, and by a certain signal the rest of the Conspirators the next Night should severally prosecute their intended mischiefs, but in this method, that *Statilius* and *Gabinus*, with a small Party, should set fire on twelve chief Places of the City; by which means they might the better come at the *Consul* and the rest for whom they

they had laid wait; that *Cethegus* should beset the Gate of *Cicero*, and assassinate him, some one way and some another; but the Sons of Families (of which the most part was of the Nobility) should kill their own Parents. So that every one being thunder-struck as it were with Blood and Fire, should confusedly run out, and joyn with *Catiline*.

Whilst these things were designing and preparing, *Cethegus* continually complain'd of the Sloth and Laziness of his Companions, that their doubting and delays had lost them several fair and promising Opportunities, and that there was more need of Action than Council, in a matter of so great and dangerous a Consequence, that he himself with the help of a few more (since the rest were so remiss) would set upon, and massacre the whole Senate. This *Cethegus* was naturally fierce and cruel, very dexterous, and successful in what he undertook, and ever thought the greatest Honour of any Action consisted in *Celerity*.

But the *Allobroges*, according to the Command of *Cicero*, met *Gabinus* and the rest, and required an Oath of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Cassius*, which being seal'd, would be a sure Pledge or Confirmation to their Citizens, without which it would be very difficult to induce them to favour so great and hazardous a Design, which they (not at all suspecting) freely gave. *Cassius* promised to come thither in a short time, to command what Aid they should afford, and accordingly departed the City a little before the Ambassadors. He also sent with them *P. Vulturtius*, to the end the *Allobroges*, before they return'd home, should confirm the Association with *Catiline*, by a mutual Obligation, himself likewise deliver'd Letters to *Vulturtius* for *Catiline*, of which this is one.

Who I am the Bearer shall acquaint you, Consider in how great a Calamity you at present are, remember that you are a man, and a Roman, and what the present posture of your Affairs require,

quire, get what Aid you can from every one, even the most vile and abject.

He order'd likewise *Vulturtius* to inform *Catiline*, that since the Senate had declared him Enemy to the Commonwealth, by what means he should refuse their Conditions if offer'd, that all things were ready in the City, which he gave Orders for, and that he should no longer delay to advance nearer.

These things done, *Cicero* being inform'd of all by the *Allobroges*, Commanded the Prætors, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *C. Pomptinus*, by ambush to seize the *Allobroges*, and their retinue on the *Milvian* bridge. The same night that they departed, accordingly they appointed some armed Men without any noise or tumult to beset the Bridge; where, when the Ambassadors with *Vulturtius* came, the word given, on both sides the Ambush broke forth, the *Allobroges*, knowing the Design, willingly surrendered themselves; but *Vulturtius* at first encouraging the rest, defended himself from the

multitude with his Sword, but when he saw himself deserted by the Embassadors, he intreated many things of *Pomptinus*, for his own safety; and fearful, and distrusting his life, deliver'd himself Prisoner to the *Prætors*, of which thing *Cicero* had very seasonable notice, and 'twas hard to discern whether his Joy or Care was the greater, he was glad when he consider'd, that by the Discovery of so great a Treason the City was secure from all its threatening Dangers, and was Anxious and Doubtful what to do, since such great Citizens were apprehended in so dangerous a Design, whose Envy he must needs incur, and consider'd that their punishment would be the trouble, and their Impunity the ruine of the *Commonwealth*; therefore with a resolute Courage he commanded *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinus* to be call'd before him, likewise *Ceparius*, who was preparing to go for *Apulia*, to raise Forces; the rest immediately came, but *Ceparius* a little before

before going from home, happen'd to understand the Design, and fled the City. The *Consul* taking *Lentulus* by the hand because he was *Prætor*, led him into the Senate, but the rest he commanded to attend him in the House of *Concord*, thither he assembl'd the Senate, and several of that Order introduc'd *Vulturtius* and the *Allobroges*, and *Flaccus* the *Prætor*, with the Packet of Letters he found with the Ambassadors. *Vulturtius* being demanded several things concerning the Journey and Letters, what was their Design and Purpose, and on what account he did so, at first fain'd, and dissembl'd every thing, pretending he knew nothing, and was only travelling for *Gallia*, but when he had the Senates faith, and the *Consul's* word to fortify him, he made a full discovery of every Particular, that he was drawn in by *Gabinus* and *Ceparius* into the Conspiracy, that he knew no more than what he heard the Embassadors say, that they understood by *Gabinus*, that *P. Antonius*, *Ser. Sylla*

Sylla, *L. Vargunteius*, and several others were Confederates in the Association, the same was Declar'd by the Embassadors, but they prov'd *Lentulus* guilty,

* Of which there were ten, who all prophesied of the Incarnation of our Saviour: The place wherein their Books were kept, was within the Capitol, under ground, in a Chest of Stone, where they remain'd safe till the firing of the Capitol, wherein they were burn't too.

he was the third, whose Fate it was to obtain the Sovereignty of the City that

* So call'd from a man's head found in the digging the foundation, on the *Tarpeian* mount, begun to be built, *An. urbis* 127, perfected *Anno urbis* 247, burnt *Anno urbis* 670.

* *Sic dict*: ab *avis* *inspicendo*, that di-

vin'd, or foretold things by the Entrails of Beasts sacrific'd.

When they had read all the Letters, and every of the Conspirators had acknowledged their Seals, the Senate decreed,

creed, That *Lentulus* should put off his Pratorship, and with the rest be committed to free Prisons. *Lentulus* was committed to *P. Lentulus Spinter*, who was then *Ædile*, *Cethegus* to *Q. Cornificius*, *Statilius* to *C. Cæsar*, *Gabinus* to *M. Crassus*, *Ceparius* (who was taken in his flight) to *Cn. Terentius*.

The Plot thus far discover'd, the Common People, who before were so desirous of Novelties, and too much favour'd the War, chang'd their Opinions, and began to execrate the Designs of *Catiline*, extoll'd *Cicero* to the Stars, and celebrated all manner of Joy and Triumph, as if they had been freed from an *Egyptian* Slavery; for they knew that War, undertaken upon any other terms, was more for plunder than destruction: but this being design'd for fire and ruin, they knew to be immoderately cruel and calamitous to themselves.

The next day after, one *L. Tarquinius* was brought to the Senate, who was taken as he was going to *Catiline*; he, when
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he promis'd to discover as much as he knew of the Conspiracy, had the Public Faith for the security of his Life. Being commanded to it by the Consul, he related almost the same with *Vulturcius*, of the preparations for firing the City, the massacring of the Loyal Party, and the March of the Enemy.

Moreover, he said he was sent by *M. Crassus*, to tell *Catiline* that he should not be discouraged at the calamitous misery of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* that were apprehended, but should the rather hasten to approach the City, that he might put fresh Courage into the Breasts of the rest, and more easily deliver them from the threatening Danger. But when *Tarquinius* nam'd *Crassus*, a Nobleman of vast Riches, and no less Power, some thought it to be incredible, others, tho they thought it true, yet thought better that the power of so great a Person should be rather pacifi'd than exasperated. But many that depended on *Crassus*, for their own interest, gave out, that the

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Evidence was false, and desir'd that the matter might be laid aside; and therefore by the advice of *Cicero*, the whole Senate decreed, that the Evidence of *Tarquinius* was altogether false, and that he should be kept close Prisoner in Irons; Neither should confess any more till he discover'd by whose Advice he should frame so great a Lye on so Worthy and Noble a Citizen.

At that time, there were not wanting some that imagined this trick to be contriv'd by *P. Antronius*, that *Crassus* being made a Confederate in the Danger, the greatness of his Power might protect the rest. Others reported, that this *Tarquinius* was sent in by *Cicero*, lest *Crassus* should take the Conspirators into his Patronage, and so disturb the Quiet of the Commonwealth. Not long since, I heard this *Crassus* himself declaim, wherein he affirms *Cicero* to be the Author of so great a Contumely; yet at the same time *Q. Catulus* and *Cn. Piso*, could neither by Favour, Intreaties, nor Bribes,

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prevail with *Cicero*, that *C. Caesar* should be falsely accus'd, either by the *Allobroges*, or any other Evidence, for both these were great Enemies to *Caesar*, *Piso* being by him accus'd of Bribery in the open

*So call'd from the other side of the River *Po* in *Italy* where they inhabited.

Senate, for the unjust punishment of a certain* *Transpadanian*; and *Catulus* hated him because in his latter years, ha-

ving undergone all Offices and Honours,

The Pontificate was an Office to have the oversight of a Wooden Bridge, call'd *Pons Sublicius*, being so great that Carts might pass over it, having no Arches to uphold it, but only great Posts and Piles of Wood, and that which is most remarkable in it is, that it is joyn'd together only with wooden Pins, without any Iron at all.

when he stood Candidate for the Pontificate, yet young *Caesar* was preferred before him. But when by no means imaginable they could make the Consul guilty of so great a Villany, they themselves by counterfeiting his Seal, and insinuating what they pretended to understand from

Vulturius, and the *Allobroges*, contracted on him a great deal of Envy; insomuch that some *Roman* Knights, who were there plac'd, arm'd with Darts for a

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Defence to the House of *Concord*, whether out of apprehension of the Greatness of the Danger, or greatness of Spirit, that their Zeal to the Commonwealth might be the more apparent, threatned *Caesar*, as he went out of the *Senate*, with their Swords.

While these things were doing in the *Senate*, and Rewards decreed to *Vulturius*, and the *Allobroges* for their approv'd Evidence, the Servants and Clients of *Lentulus* were continually soliciting the Trades-men, and Hirelings in the Streets, to deliver him by force; others made Interest with the Ring-leaders of the Rabble, who usually for Pay and Reward, made factious Insurrections in the Commonwealth: *Cethegus* on the other side sent Messengers to solicit his own Family, and the Chief of his *Liberti*, that were train'd up in bold and daring Enterprizes, that getting an head, they should rescue him by force of Arms.

As soon as this came to the Consul's Ears, he set such Guards and Watches over

over them as he thought convenient and necessary, and assembling the Senate, demanded what they intended to do with the Conspirators they had in Custody, who in a full Senate were found guilty of Treason against the Commonwealth.

Then D. Junius Silanus, because he was next design'd Consul, being ask'd his Judgment, not only against those that were already in Custody, but also against L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should be taken, he Decreed they should suffer such punishment as the Laws require.

But when Cæsar was ask'd his Judgment he spoke after this manner.

*Sic Demosth. Επειμέν
τὸς λέγοντας ὅτι ταν-
τας ἐν οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς
ἐχθρὸν ποιεῖται λό-
γον μὴ εἶναι, μὴτε
πρὸς χάριν, ἔτε.*

Conscript Fathers,

Those who consult of things dubious and dangerous ought to be free from all Hatred, Love, Wrath, or Pity; for that Man can never thoroughly look into the end of any thing when he is byass'd by any

any one of these; neither can he at the same time indulge his own Humour and be serviceable to the Commonwealth; where once Fancy takes place 'tis always prevalent, if Lust, it always commands; so that Reason becomes lost and ineffectual: I could give you large Examples, Fathers, of several Kings and Nations, who, led either by Prejudice or Pity, have given wrong Judgments; but I had rather treat of some of the Actions of our own Forefathers, who against the Current of their own Humours and Inclinations, have rightly and impartially administered Justice.

In the Macedonian War, which the Roman Empire wag'd with King Perseus the Great, and stately City of Rhodes, which grew famous by the Riches of the Roman People, was very treacherously revolted from us. Our Ancestors, when they were to give Sentence on the Rhodians, lest any should report he made War for the sake of Wealth or Injuries, sent them home unpunish'd. So likewise in all the Carthaginian Wars,

Wars, though in Peace, and Cessation of Arms, they committed many nefarious Villanies, yet they consulted more their own Honour than the Rigour of the Law. So these, O *Conscript Fathers*, should be your Examples. Let not the Treason of *Lentulus*, and the rest, make your Dignity strike fail to your Revenge; neither let any immoderate Passion prevail more with you than the Sense of your own Fame and Grandeur: for, if you could find out any Punishment equal to their Crimes, I should willingly consent to it; but if the greatness of their Wickedness is beyond all humane Apprehension, I think such Punishments are to be inflicted as the Laws provide.

Those who have given their Judgments before, have very accurately and ingeniously commiserated the sad Condition of the Commonwealth, and summ'd up what the inhumane Cruelty of the War would be, and what dismal Extremities had been the Fate of the Conquer'd, our Virgins would have been ravish'd, Children

Children pull'd from the dear Embraces of their frighted Parents, and Matrons suffer all the base Abuses that the unbridl'd Lust of Conquerours can invent, Temples and Houses sack'd and plunder'd, Slaughter, and Fire raging in our Streets, and every thing look with the horrid Aspect of Blood and Ruine. This was the only Mark they aim'd at; but to what Purpose is all this Oration? Is it to incense you more against their Treason? Or can a fine Oration make it more hated than its own Nature? Every Man thinks his own Injuries not light and trivial, and most endeavour to revenge them with greater Passion than they ought; inferior States and petty Republicks may change and alter upon Humour, when if they offend and punish partially, 'tis known but to a few, because they are obscure; for both their Fame and Fortunes hang in an *Æquilibrio*, and run in one and the same Channel; but they that are the Masters of the Universe, and live in that seen and conspicuous height of Fortune, all Mankind become Specta-

tors of their Actions; so that the more great and honourable they are, the less is their Liberty: for they must not in the least hate or favour any one, nor in the least be angry, for what in others is accounted Anger, in Men endu'd with Command and Empire is call'd Pride and Cruelty. I think, Fathers, that the most exquisite Torments are inferiour to their Crimes; but most Men have respect to things past, and on impious Persons, forgetting their Wickedness; they differ, only concerning the Punishment, if any thing more severe than ordinary. I know *Syllanus*, who spoke before me, to be a Loyal and Courageous Gentleman, and what he spoke to be only for the Good and Honour of the Commonwealth, that he would not in so great a Business make use either of Favour or Hatred; neither are his Manners nor his Moderation unknown to me, nor do I think his Sentence cruel or severe, (for what can be too much so against such Delinquents) but that it is unusual and hating to the *Republick*; but

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indeed, *Syllanus* (our design'd *Consul*) fear must certainly poss'ess thee, thus to decree a new and unheard of kind of Punishment; but 'tis superfluous to talk of Fear, when every thing is made so safe and secure by the Diligence and Conduct of so worthy a *Consul* and such strong Guards.

Concerning the Punishment, I can only say what the nature of the Thing requires;

for * Death is the end of all Grief and Miseries, and is rather a pleasing Rest than a tormenting Punish-

ment; it dissolves all humane Troubles and Afflictions, and is the only Period to all Pains and Pleasures; but (by the immortal Gods) Why did you not condemn them to be scourg'd? Is it because forbidden by the *Portian* Law? But other Laws also command Banishment, and not Death, to condemn'd Citizens; or is't because Death seems a greater Punishment than Stripes? For indeed there can be nothing too cruel and severe on Men convicted of

* Sic Cicero, ita ciorre, ut non sit dolendum, miserimum est: mori autem nemo sapiens miseriam duxit, ne beato quidem. Et Eurip. in Theſeo, Τάχους γὰρ ὁ βίος γὰρος ἀνδρῶν δουλοῦται.

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such palpable and notorious Villanies? Or in awe. Thus the City became oppress'd because it is more tolerable for Men to fear with Slavery, and suffer'd a just Punishment the Law in a less Matter when you neglected for their foolish Commendation. to inflict it in a greater? But who is there? Within our own Memories, the *Usurper* can find fault in any Punishment decreed *Sylla*, when he commanded on *Parricides*? For whatever is inflicted on such is just and deserved; but consider, *Fathers*, that all ill Examples had their first Springs and Original from good; but when base and undeserving Persons are invested with Command and Empire, the Example too is alter'd, and the Empire translated.

The *Lacedemonians*, when they had conquer'd *Athens*, impos'd on them thirty *Men* (or rather *Tyrants*) to manage the Affairs of the *Commonwealth*; these at first began to put to Death every base and hated Citizen, which the Common-people commended as just and meritorious; but soon after, when with their Power their Lust encreased, they made no Distinction to put to Death Innocents and Malefactors alike, and us'd Threats and Menaces, as the only means to keep the rest

in awe. Thus the City became oppress'd with Slavery, and suffer'd a just Punishment for their foolish Commendation. Within our own Memories, the *Usurper* *Sylla*, when he commanded *Damasippus* and the rest of his Accomplices, (who endeavour'd the Subversion of the *Commonwealth*) to be strangl'd, who was there did not applaud his Justice? Every one prais'd it, that wicked factious Citizens, that sow'd Seditions in the *Republick* had deserved Punishment inflicted on them; but that was but the Prologue to a far greater Ruine; for as then any one that coveted another's House, Farm, Vessel, or Garment, and could not obtain it, endeavour'd to put the other into the Number of the Proscript, so those that then rejoyc'd at the Death of *Damasippus* were themselves made Partakers of his Fate; neither did their Blood and Ruine cease till *Sylla* rais'd the Fortunes of his own Party to a considerable height; but we at present have no Rea-

* A Base Roman, that took part with *Marius* against *Sylla*, and sacrificed Men among Beasts.

son to fear the like under the Government of so good a *Consul* as *M. Tullius*; but in so great a City as ours are a multitude of factious and various Humours. At another time, and under another *Consul*, who has the Command of the Army in his own Hands, what may now seem impossible may then pass for true and real; and when once the *Consul* shall give the first Example of drawing the Sword, who is there will oppose or controul him? Our Ancestors Fathers never yet needed either Courage or Council, neither were so sway'd by Pride and Arrogance, as not to imitate the manners of others, if good and virtuous: They had first their Arms and Military Darts from the *Samnites*, the Trophies of the Magistracy from the *Tuscan*s, and wherever they saw any thing useful and honourable, either in Friends or Enemies, that with the greatest Care and Industry, they embrac'd and follow'd: they had rather imitate than envy any thing good and commendable; but at that same time

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imitating the Manners of *Greece*, they inflicted Stripes on Citizens, and Death on other condemn'd Malefactors; but when the Commonwealth grew up, and the multitude of Citizens produced likewise a multitude of Factions, both the Innocent and Guilty partak'd of one and the same Punishment; then the *Portian*, and other Laws were provided, which Laws impos'd only Banishment on condemn'd Citizens; therefore I think the Reasons I have given why they should not dye, are very weighty; for indeed the Vertue and Wisdom of our Fore-fathers was the more eminent and conspicuous, who from such small Aid and Treasures rais'd the Empire to so great an height, than in us, who can scarce preserve what they with so much Labour and Industry have obtain'd. But do you think I would have them sent out, and make an Addition to *Catiline's* Army? No, but my Sentence is, that their Estates should be confiscated, and they themselves remain Prisoners in Irons in the Municipal Towns vvhich

are most fortify'd, neither hereafter shall they have any relation to the Senate, or any thing to do vvith the *Roman People*, vvhich if they have, the *Senate* should decree it done against the Republick, and the common Safety of us all.

As soon as *Cæsar* had ended, some applauded, others dislik'd it; some were of one Opinion, some of another, but *M. P. Cato*, being ask'd his Sentence, spoke to this purpose;

My Judgment, Fathers, is much different from that of *Caius Cæsar*, when I compare the Association it self and our own Danger with the Sentence already given; they dispute what kind of Punishment to inflict on those that have conspir'd to make War against their *Country, Fathers*, and their own Religion, for we should rather study to beware such, than what to inflict on them; other Offences the Laws may prosecute when committed, but this, if ye prevent not e're it happen, if once happen'd, whatsoever

soever you decree against it, will be vain, and to no purpose; for if once they make themselves Masters of the City, we that are the conquer'd shall have nothing left us to enjoy, wherefore I conjure you, that if ever you thought your *Houses, Farms, Statues*, and your *Attick Tables* to be continued, by the *Publick Peace and Quiet*, if you intend still to continue what you now enjoy, and to have time and leisure to indulge your Pleasures; now at length awake, and consult the Preservation of the *Commonwealth*; for we do not now contend for Stipends, and Tributes, nor complain of the Injuries of our Confederates, but our Liberty and very Lives lye almost on the very brink of Ruin. Oftentimes, *Fathers*, in this Senate, have I declaim'd against the *Covetousness and Luxury* of our own *Citizens*, and have rais'd many Enemies to me for that very reason: for I, who never in any measure favour'd the Offences of any one, would not now be easily induc'd to pardon the many Trayterous

Extravagances of others Lusts; but these things, tho' you accounted trivial, made the *Commonwealth* remain secure and undisturb'd, for their extraordinary Riches gave their Negligence a greater toleration. But the Dispute is not now whether we should regulate our Lives by good or ill Examples, nor how to render the *Roman Empire* more great and Splendid, but all these things, we at present enjoy, and seem to have in a quiet possession, will by our own Sloth and neglect, become a Prey to our Enemies. In vain therefore doth * He use * C. Caesar the Names of Clemency and Pity, since long since we have lost the use of both, because profuse spending another man's Estate has obtain'd the specious term of Liberality, and a wicked Impudence that of true Valour; and by this means comes it that the *Commonwealth* is in so dangerous a posture. But allow men to be lavish of other men's Fortunes, since 'tis the *mode*, and let pity be shown to those that rob the *publick Treasury*; but let

let them not be prodigal of our Blood, and under pretence of being pittiful to a few lost and dissolute men, promote the ruin of all the Good.

C. Caesar here hath very well and subtly discours'd of Life and Death, as if he thought those things only fictitious which are deliver'd to us, of *Hell*; and *Euries*, and the *shades below*, and of the different wayes that wicked men go from good, to gloomy, dark, and ugly abodes, and therefore decrees that their Estates should be confiscate, and they kept Prisoners in the free Towns, fearing, lest if they should still remain in *Rome*, either by the Confederates of the *Association*, or the giddy Rabble, they should have Release, as if *Rome* was the only Nest and Receptacle of wicked *Debauchees*, and not all *Italy*; or that a daring Impudence would not commit most outrage, where it met with the least resistance. Wherefore I think his Counsel to be vain and frivolous, and if in so great a Consternation he alone stands unfrighted, we have

have all reason to fear him. Those things which you decree concerning *Lentulus*, I would have you to resolve against the whole Army of *Catiline*, for by how much the more severely you do this, the fainter and the more infirm will their Courage be, but if they see you in the least remiss and languid, the fiercer Assault must ye expect from them; flatter not your selves therefore with the Opinion, that your Ancestors rais'd the Republick to what it now is, from small and indigent, to so great and famous; for if it were so, we have much the more reason to continue it in its present Splendour, because we have greater Forces, of Allies and Citizens, Armour and Horses, than ever they had. But there were other things that rendred them renowned, which we have not; at home Industry, abroad, a lawfully acquir'd Empire, a mind free in Council, not in the least sway'd by Pride or Debauchery: Instead of these, we abound in Luxury and Avarice, in Discredit and Debts abroad, at home in Ease and Plenty; we commend

commend Riches, but embrace Idleness, and make no difference between Good and Ill, since Ambition ingrosses all the Rewards of Virtue; neither is it strange, since ye all consult the Good of the Republick, only apart and separate, while in the mean time you are Slaves to your Pleasures at home, and here to Interest, and the Favour of others. Thence it is that Attempts are made upon the Naked and unarm'd Commonwealth: but I pals this by.

Here the Noblest Citizens have conspir'd to imbroyl their Country in a Civil-War, and called to their Aid the Gauls, a People warlike and fierce, ever envious of, and full of Hatred to the Roman Greatness: the Commander of our Enemies is just upon us, and you yet still delay to suppress them, and are yet dubious what Punishments to inflict on Traytors apprehended within our own Walls. I suppose you are pitiful, since such Young Noblemen have offended only through Ambition, and you would fain dismiss them arm'd; yet your Clemency and Pity would, if they should take Arms, turn to your own Misery.

fery. The matter it self is really dangerous, but you neither fear nor apprehend it: here, through Sloth and a Womanish Softness, you look one on another, as if you trusted to the Immortal Gods, who have often preserved the *Commonwealth* in its greatest Dangers. No faint Wishes nor effeminate Prayers can draw them to your Suc-

**Cicero sic de finibus animi convenit, cum ipsi inter nos abjelli, neglectique sumus postulare, Si deus immortalibus Chari sumus, & ab his diligamur. Ex Gellius, Quid nos à deis immortalibus diutius expectemus, nisi malis rationibus finem facimus?*

cour, but by ** Vigilance, Counsel, and Action*, you may justly expect a prosperous Delivery: but, when once you give your selves up to Sloth and Idleness,

(which they hate) all Prayers and Devotions to the Gods are lost and ineffectual.

Amongst our Ancestors, *Aulus Manlius Torquatus* commanded his own Son to be slain, because, contrary to Command, he fought for the Republick against their Enemies. But that extraordinary young Man suffered Death as a just Punishment for such an immoderate and unseasonable Valour, and yet you differ concerning the Punishment of the most unheard of

Parricida

Parricides: yet I would have you in some measure to commiserate the Honour and Dignity of *Lentulus*. If he had had any pity for it himself, or any regard to the Honour of the Gods and the Lives of us all, pardon the Extravagance of Young *Cethegus*; if ye are so far in love with Civil War, as to let him make another Attempt; and what shall I tell you of *Gabinus*, *Statilius*, and *Ceparius*? who, had they any love for the *Commonwealth*, and their own Countrey, had never so dangerously conspir'd against them. Indeed, Fathers, (should I not offend in saying so) I could be easily content the Plot it self should convince you, since my words are so lightly regarded; but now every where Danger surrounds us, *Catiline* dares us with his Army, besides other secret and unknown Enemies within our own Walls, in the Bosom of our own City, ready for an Insurrection; neither can all the Preparations we can make, nor all our private Councils imaginable, be too soon put in practice to prevent it.

Where

Wherefore my Sentence is, that since the
 Notorious Plots and Associations of some
 wicked and desperate Citizens, threaten
 so imminent a Danger to the Common-
 wealth, and the Conspirators convicted
 by the Evidence of *Vulturcius* and the
Allobroges, and by their own Confessions
 have design'd both us and Rome for
 Blood, and Fire, and other unparallel'd
 Cruelties, 'tis necessary, by the Exam-
 ples of our own Fore-fathers, they should
 suffer condign Punishment, as men con-
 victed of Capital Offences.

Soon as *Cato* had ended, all the *Consular*
Order, and most of the *Senate* approved
 his Sentence, and mightily applauded
 the bravery of his Courage, branding
 others with the name of Coward, that
 seem'd to oppose it, and accordingly
 pass'd a Decree for their Execution.
 As soon as the *Senate* broke up, the
Consul, thinking it best to take the oppor-
 tunity of the approaching night, gave
 Orders to the *Triumviri* to make every
 thing ready for that purpose; according-

ly, after he had disposed his Guards, he
 conducts *Lentulus* to
 the * *Carcer*, the rest
 of the Conspirators
 were brought in by
 the *Prætors*. There is
 a place in the *Carcer*
 called the *Tullianum*, a
 little on the left hand,
 about twelve Foot deep, fortify'd on
 every side with Walls, and over it a
 Chamber built with stone Arches; but
 exceeding dark, stinking, and of a very
 horrid Aspect. As soon as *Lentulus* was
 let down into this Place, he was strangl'd.
 Thus that great *Patrician* of the most ho-
 nourable Family of the *Cornelii*, who had
 been honour'd with the *Consular Dignity*,
 met a Fate every way just and equal to
 the blackness of his Treasons. *Cethegus*,
Statilius, *Gabinus*, and *Ceparius*, took
 their leave of Life in the same man-
 ner.

* *Sic dicitur à Coercendo*, from
 restraining Men of their Li-
 berty: it had two principal
 Parts, one called *Tullianum*,
 (into which *Lentulus* was
 cast) and the other *Rotæ*:
 these two Places were at-
 sign'd for Execution; in the
Tullianum they only strangl'd
 Malefactors; it had its name
 from *Serv. Tullius*, a Roman
 King, who first invented it.

Whilst these things were thus doing at
 Rome, *Catiline*, out of the Forces he
 brought

brought with him and those which *Manlius* led, muster'd two * Legions, and filled up his Troops, according to the number of his Souldiers, when at first his whole Army

* So called à *Deligendo*. An ordinary Legion consisted of ten Cohorts, containing three Maniples, each Maniple two Centuries. So that it consisted of sixty thousand Men.

consisted but of two thousand; but of all his Forces, only one fourth part was well disciplin'd and arm'd; the rest only carried small Darts, Lances, and other sharp Clubs, Armour only of Fortune and Necessity.

But as soon as *Antonius* began to approach with his Army, *Catiline* took his march over the Mountains, and designed to remove his Camp, either towards the City or *Gallia*, and so to give no opportunity of Battel at all to the adverse Armies; for he hop'd in a short time to have the Number of his Forces much augmented, if his Confederates at *Rome* had but begun the attempt: therefore he refused the Services of those

those of whom at first he might have had a considerable Force; and depending on the Strength and Aids of the Conspirators at home, he thought it then, beneath the Honour of the *Cause* to communicate it to every Slave and Fugitive.

But when News was brought him, at the Camp, that the whole Plot was discovered at *Rome*, and condign Punishment inflicted on *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest, and that most of them, whom the hopes of Plunder and the desire of Reformation had inclin'd to War, were now fall'n off, he immediately remov'd by great Marches over the rough Mountains into the *Pistorian Territories*, designing by by-ways secretly to fly into *Gallia*. But *Q Metellus Celer*, commanded three Legions at *Picenum*, and imagin'd by reason of the Straits *Catiline* was in, that he designed some such thing; therefore when the Scouts had given him notice

of his March, he seasonably remov'd his Tents, and encamped at the foot of the Mountains, on purpose to stop his Passage into *Gallia*. Neither was *Antonius*, with his Army far off, in the smooth and level Ground, that he might the better pursue the flight of *Cataline*; who when he saw himself environ'd with the Mountains, and the number of his Enemies, that in the City all his Undertakings went cross and retrograde, and that there were no hopes of Flight or Safety, he thought best in such an Extremity to try the fortune of a War; and therefore resolv'd to engage *Antonius* as soon as possible. Calling a Counsel of War, he thus bespoke them.

* Sic *Salustius* in *Jugurtha*.
*Plura dicerem si timidis ci-
 vium verba adderem, non
 strenuis abande dictum per-
 su. Et demosth. in Oratione, Έγώ
 δὲ κεραλαίον ἄνταρτον τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμῶν
 ἀνθρώπων, ὅτε ποιεῖται, ὅτε
 λυγρὸς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀλλ' ὁμῶν
 ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἰσχυρῶν, &c.*

* I know by Ex-
 perience, Souldiers,
 that the greatest
 force of Words can-
 not have the least In-
 fluence to provoke
 Va-

Valour, nor can any Army of weak be-
 come strong; or of Cowards, valiant,
 by the insinuating Eloquence of a Ge-
 nerals Oration; for every Breast whom
 Nature hath endued with manly Bold-
 ness and a warlike Propensity, should
 endeavour to render it the more splen-
 did and illustrious in the dangerous
 Hazards of a just War: but him whom
 neither Glory nor Adversity can incite
 to Valour 'tis in vain to persuade, since
 the force of natural Cowardise hinders
 its Operation. But I only call'd you
 together to advise you a few things and
 make you acquainted with my Design;
 for you all know, Souldiers, what mi-
 serable Calamities the Sloth and Folly
 of *Lentulus* have brought both upon
 himself and us, insomuch, that whilst
 I expected Auxiliaries from the City
 my Passage into *Gallia* is block'd up.
 Now indeed, with what an Aspect
 our Affairs look you all know as well as
 I: two Armies of our Enemies attend

us; one stops our Progress for the City, the other for *Gallia*, and for us to remain longer here, (tho we had designed it) yet the want of Provision, and other Necessaries, constrains us to the contrary; therefore wherever we go, nothing but the Sword must force the Passage, wherefore I advise you to be resolute and couragious; and since we must commence the Battel, remember that you carry Riches, Glory, and Honour, nay *Liberty*, and *Rome* it self, in your right hands. If we conquer they are all secure we shall have Provisions enough, and all the Colonies, and free Towns will lye open to us; but if Fear and Cowardise should prevail, we must expect the contrary, for no Place nor Friend will protect him whom Arms will not: besides, there is a great Difference in the Cause of War between us and our Enemies; we fight for our own Country, Lives, and Liberties, they only for the superfluous

Pow.

Power of a few great Men; wherefore that ye may the more couragiously encounter them, remember that you are *Romans*, and set before you the old *Roman Valour*. No one, unless a Conquerour, will ever exchange War for Peace; and 'tis the greatest Madness imaginable, to hope for Safety by Flight, and turn your Backs upon your Enemies, when they are sufficiently defended by the Armour you carry. Always in fight they that fear most are in the greatest Danger; but Courage is like Walls and Bulwarks. When I consider, Souldiers, who you are, and reflect on all your former Actions, I have sufficient hopes that Victory will attend us; your Spirits, Age, and innate Valour, and which is more, the prevalent force of Necessity, which makes Cowards valiant, plainly confirms it. But if Fortune is grown envious of our Valour, fall not unrevenge'd, nor be taken, and kill'd like

tame

same Beasts, but like true Romans dye fighting, and leave a dear, bloody, and a lamentable Victory for your Enemies to boast of.

When he spoke this, after a short pause, he commanded them to sound an Alarm, and leads his Forces into a Plain, and then, to inspire them with the greater Courage, he himself muster'd them on foot. for, according to the situation of the Plain, which was between two Mountains on the left hand, and an huge craggy Rock on the right, he plac'd Eight *Cohorts* in the Front, and the rest in a more narrow compass, for a Recruit. In the Rear of these, he chose out the most experienc'd *Centurions*, and every the best disciplin'd and best arm'd of the Common Souldiers for the *Forlorn Hope*, and appointed *C. Manlius* to command the Right, and a certain *Fesulanian* the left wing of the Army, and he himself

with

with his *Freemen* and *Tenants* betook themselves near the * *Eagle*. which *C. Marius* was said to have in the *Cymbrian War*.

* The Eagle was the common Ensign of the Romans, but this was a particular Eagle which *C. Marius* had in his Army in the *Cymbrian War*.

Of the adverse Army, *C. Antoninus*, General, being sick of the Gout, was render'd incapable of accompanying it, so committed the Charge of it to *M. Petreius*; who plac'd the *Veteran Cohorts* (which he rais'd in haste) in the Front, and the rest of the Army for a Supply in the Rear, and riding round the Body, calling them severally by their Names, encourag'd, and intreated them to remember they were about to fight against unarmed Thieves and Robbers, for no less cause than their own *Country, Children, and Religion*.

This *Petreius* was a man altogether trayn'd up to War, and had discharg'd with great honour and credit the Offices of *Tribune, Praefect, Prator, and Legat*.

When

When they were all prepar'd, and in a fit Posture, *Petreius* gave the signal, and commanded the *Cohorts* to move forwards, *Catiline's* Army did the same,

* These were *Ferentarii*, d. *ferendi*, because they wear no Armour, Swords, &c. as others, but only slings and stones.

till they approached one another so near, that the * light harness'd Auxiliaries, arm'd only with Slings and Stones, could

begin the Battel; immediately with a great shout and a deadly feud, they rush'd on all together, and leaving their Darts, made use of no other weapons than their Swords. The Veteran Souldiers, fir'd with the remembrance of their former Valour, fought hand to hand very vigorously, and met with no less vigorous resistance. In the mean time *Catiline* was not idle, but was very often with the light-harness'd Auxiliaries in the Front, helping and encouraging those that fought valiantly, bringing in fresh Supplies in the places of the wounded, providing and

and taking care for every thing, fighting nobly himself, and killing many of his *Enemies*, and discharg'd at once the duty of a *Valiant Souldier*, and an excellent *Commander*. *Petreius*, when he saw *Catiline* behave himself so valiantly, and fought with greater resolution than he expected, presently brought the *Prætorian Cohort* into the midst of the Enemy, and made a very great and surprizing slaughter, and they but very weakly and confusedly resisted him, then made a very fierce and valiant assault on both *Wings* of *Catiline's* Army; in which Conflict *Manlius*, and the *Fesulanian* that commanded them, dy'd fighting. But when *Catiline* saw his Forces thus routed, and himself almost totally deserted, only a few remaining with him, reflecting on the *Nobility* of his *Family* and his former *Dignity*, scorn'd to become a prey to his *Foes*, and be taken

tame.

* *Sic Flavius. Pulcherrima morte si pro Patria sic cecidisset Catilina.*

tamely, desperately rush-
ed in among the thickest
of his Enemies, and was
slain fighting *.

The Battel done, you might then see what resolute Valour and desperate Courage possess'd the minds of *Catiline's* whole Army, for almost every one, when dead, cover'd with their Carcasses the same places, where just before, when alive, they stood fighting; but these few, whom the *Prætorian Cohort* had scatter'd and put to flight, partook of the same fate, but the Body of *Catiline* was found at a great distance from his own Army, in the midst of the whole Body of his Enemies, just expir'd, and seem'd to retain the same fierceness in his looks when dead, which he had in his mind when living. Lastly, in both Armies, neither in flight nor fight was there one Noble and Ingenuous Citizen taken, but on both sides they valu'd their own

own Lives at no dearer rate than the Lives of their Enemies. Neither had the Roman Army any reason to boast they had obtain'd a joyful and advantageous Victory without Bloodshed; for every of the most valiant and courageous either dy'd fighting, or was severely wounded, besides many who came out of the Tents, either out of Curiosity, or for the sake of Plunder, tumbling the dead Bodies of the Enemy. One found a Kinsman, another a Friend, and some their Enemies; so, promiscuously over the whole Army, Joy and Grief, Gladness, and Mourning invaded every one.

F I N I S.

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